The tent is occupied by only one household, and each of the married couple has his own side. The man's side is to the left as one enters the door; there he keeps his mehari saddle, his weapons, and his bags of salt. To the right is the woman's place, where she keeps her bag of personal things, her saddle if she has one, the bags containing the food supplies, and the kitchen implements which she has charge of.

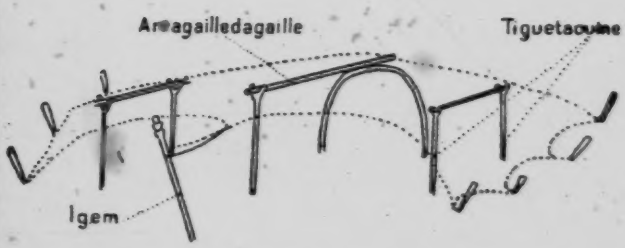

Fig. 26. Tent used by the Agouh-n-Tehlé. Sometimes the stake supporting the aragailledagaille may be replaced by a second arch. In some tribes, particularly among the Kel Ahnet, the arches were placed crosswise.

In summer when it is very hot, the Tuareg sometimes use straw huts, as much to save hides as to be a bit more comfortable. The leather tent, in fact, is made almost useless by the heat, and nomads often seek shelter during the heat of the day under neighboring trees when there are any or else in the rocks.

Captives never have tents. They build themselves little shelters with a few branches on which are hung scraps of leather or cloth.

It falls entirely to the women to put up the tents.

Granaries. -- One of the most characteristic facts of nomadic life is its lack of foresight in questions of food. For the most part, the nomad lives from one day to the next, following the seasons, without accumulating anything. This is somewhat the case for the Tuareg. Still, the Sahara is not a country where one can find supplies easily.

251 Thus, they are forced to keep supplies on hand, /226/ but it is a
343 limited stock, consisting of two or three bags of sorghum or dates which are transported each time the camp is moved. It is customary, when supplies are more considerable, to leave them in the rocks of the mountains in spots known to the people of the tribe. These granaries (ekaham) allow them to travel lighter and at the same time put supplies in safe places. In case camps are raided they make a sufficient food reserve so that the people are not driven to starvation.

184 Some tribes which have gardens in the centers of cultivation
343 often have food deposits there; they are stored for a whole family
423 group. Thus the Dag Rali have stores in the Koudia, at Ilaman,
251 Tarahananet, Abalessa, etc., where they entrust the care of their goods to their local representatives. These centers have secret granaries; they are scarcely used these days, but they were used before the French occupation for reasons of safety in case of raids. We have seen hiding places of this kind at Tit and at Bloumet, and there are probably some at Tazerouk and Ideles. They consist of cellars dug in the soil at ground level and hidden from the eyes of passers-by. Merchandise was thus protected from men and rodents.

171 While we are on the subject, let us add that granaries dug in rock are common among all Berbers. Today they may still be seen in Morocco and among the Chaouia /Shawia/ of Aurès. This custom seems to have been common in Mediterranean countries, in Syria, and especially in Palestine where it was already reported in Biblical times.

343 The Akhamouk amenokal was the only person who had real
643 granaries. He had three or four of them constructed of stone bound
251 with clay using the Sudanese technique. They were placed at the top of a rocky crest on the left bank of the Abalessa wadi, near the place where his camp was most often established.

513 Sleeping arrangements. -- Bedding includes only one or two
[568] sheepskins sewn together, or more rarely a rug among the rich people.

513 No one has a bed except the aménokal, who owns one of the Hausa
[352 177 643] type; this model has also been adopted in a certain number /227/ of Kel Oui /Owey/ camps. (1) The man and woman each sleep on

1. Contrary to what has been said, the bed is not Tuareg but Hausa. Its use is spread among the sedentary people of Aïr, Damergou, and Sokoto, and it is made by Hausa smiths.

his or her own side of the tent, the boys with their father and the girls with their mother.

354 There are no cradles for babies among the Ahaggar Tuareg, and young children are placed on a skin or on blankets. Sometimes a hemispheric wicker frame is put over them and covered with a cloth to cut off the light or protect them from sandstorms.

The Kel Aïr and the Tenguéréguif have little cradles which are suspended from the top of the tent.

354 Fire. -- In front of each tent there is a hearth, generally made of three stones. It is not intended for cooking purposes, but rather for warmth in the evening after the sun has gone down when all the people gather in the shelter of the asaber, which is unrolled in an arc in front of the tent. The flame warms up hearts and
[272] bodies and synthesizes family and friendship. Sometimes a container of water is placed on the three stones to heat in order to make tea.

●343 The cooking fire is set apart, generally some three or four
354 meters from the tent, in the shelter of a little stone wall in order to protect it from the wind.

372 We have not been able to find any myth on the origin of fire
773 among the Tuareg. According to them it was created by God, who gave it to man to cook food. Iblis (Satan) wanted to seize the secret of how it was made, and God punished him by creating

2:Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

351 and are extended out in front to form a sheltered enclosure which is usually semicircular with the entrance opening in the middle. The little forecourt and the ground inside the tent as well are covered with clean sand or very fine gravel from the bed of a nearby stream. Tuareg camps are always very tidy and astonishingly clean.

562 Both in the forecourt and in the tent itself
342 the men's place is on the right as you enter and the women's and children's on the left, which is the reverse of the arrangement customary among Arabs. It has often been said that the men's place is on the East, but this is simply because tents are almost always pitched facing south.

352 Household furniture and effects include
[439] sheepskins, or rugs obtained from the North by trade, leather bags of food and personal belongings, saddles, bridles and weapons,
[415] wooden bowls, funnels and spoons and maybe an earthenware cooking pot or two, a wooden
[412] mortar and pestle or perhaps two sets of different sizes, and a stone quern which may be either of the Neolithic saddle type or the small rotary model of the Roman Legions. Arms and food are stored in the men's half of the tent and equipment connected with food preparation in the women's half. A guerba full of water is hung from two long stakes just outside the forecourt. A brush
[343] windbreak built nearby shelters the outdoor kitchen, and another windbreak, some 50 to 100 yards away, shelters the family slaves.

Sometimes in the hottest months, and particularly when a camp remains stationary for a considerable length of time as it does in periods so dry that it is dangerous to move far from a permanent water supply, the tents may be stowed away and zeribas set up in their place. We recall that these are cubical or cylindrical structures made of reeds, long grass or palm fronds laid over a wooden framework measuring roughly 10 to 15 feet across and 8 to 10 feet high (fig. 37, *a*). The Amenokal's camp was installed in zeribas when the writer visited it in November, 1955, near the end of an unusually long period of drought.

361 Camps are always pitched in an inconspicuous spot and always on high ground except on very rare occasions when the sky is cloud-

They use camel hair to make rope. They are fond of camel meat, and it is they who supply the markets of the Tidikelt with it. 237 283 262 439

There are very few cattle in the Ahaggar, barely thirty, and almost all these belong to Si Mokhammed ag Otsmane, of Tazerouk. They are used to draw water from the wells into the ar'erems. The pasture is scanty, and besides the cattle easily wear out their hooves on the rocks and stones. 233 492 [312]

In the Koudia, because of the cold which prevails there and the high altitude, there are many small turrets of dry stones, /65/ empty inside, in which the Tuareg confine lambs and kids at night to shelter them from the cold. 233 343

The Ahaggar do not have a large number of meharis, and they do not like to sell them, especially the good ones. Among themselves, to set the value of a mehari, they say, "Such a mehari is worth two, three, or four camels." All their meharis are trained to start at a gallop. The Tuareg has great patience with the training of his mehari and never mistreats it. He confines himself to persuading it by voice and foot, and it is perhaps for this reason that the Tuareg mehari is much more silent than the Arab mehari. 233 [435]

The foundation of the pastures of the Ahaggar is aremmas (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae). This plant is quite laxative. So when the year is bad and drought prevails, the Ahaggar are found emigrating toward the Adhar'. There are fine pastures of "had" (Cornulaca monacantha, Salsolaceae) in the south of Tin R'arhou, but there is no water. Moussa ag Amastane /66/ intends to have wells dug there and has requested our help and advice for this purpose. 137 233 [312 648]

As a rule the Tuareg let their camels out to pasture without herders, and they find them again at the well or by tracking, unless they entrust the herding to children or negroes. 233

/67/ A young camel is called "abal" without designating its age. A camel in general is called "amadjour," plural "imoudjar," or else "amiss," plural "imnass." A female is 192 233

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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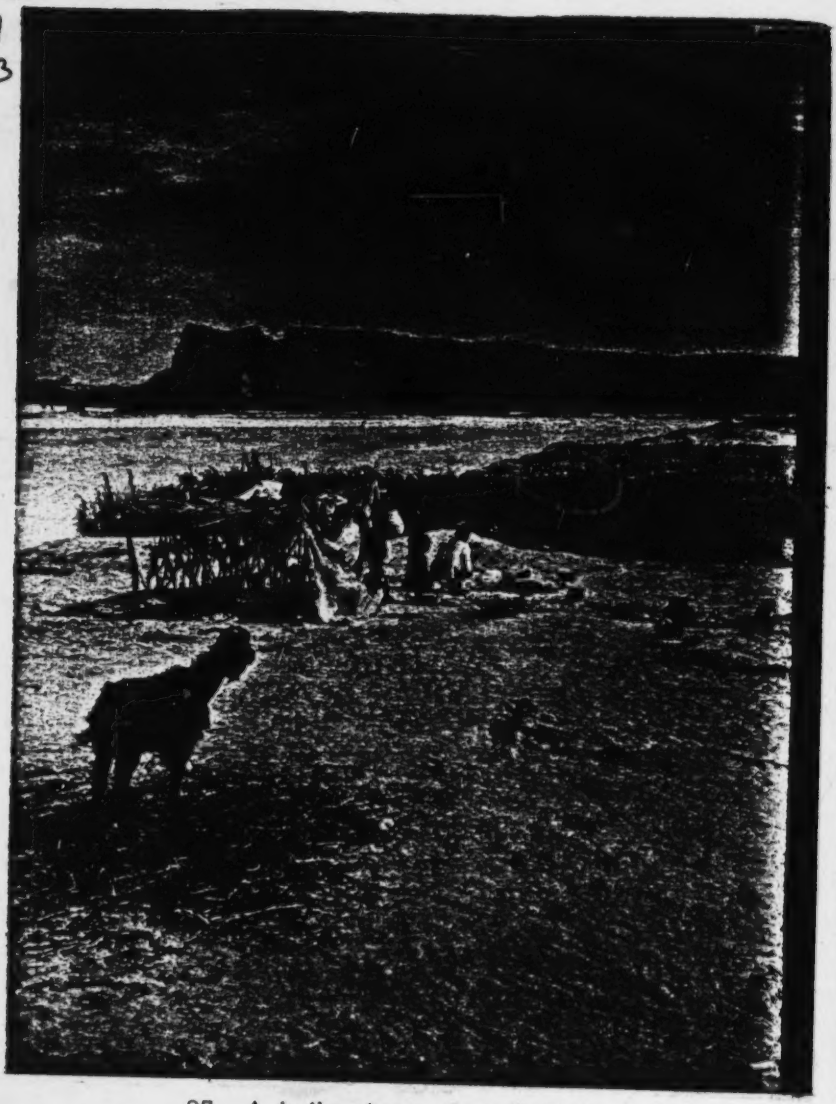

27. A jeriba near a wheat field.

[p. 214]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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415

Fig. 144. *Kel Ewey* woman winnowing grain by shaking it in a plaited bowl. Ayr. Iferwan.

243 large mortar. Winnowing of cereals is performed by shaking the seeds in a plaited bowl or tray to let [415] husks and other impurities be removed by the wind (Fig. 144).

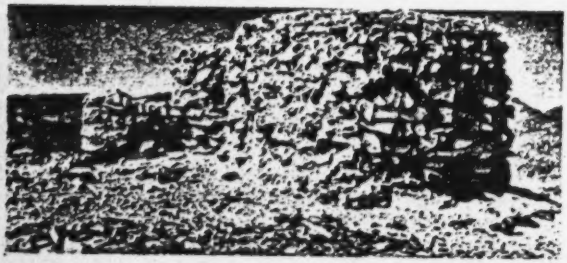
251 The Northern Tuareg use the following means for storing of crops:— (1) *taddat*, that is a skin bag 343 containing grain, dates, and the like, hidden under stones and rocks in the mountains; (2) *égend*, or *anu*, an underground storeroom lined with mats. It is used for cereals, including wild seeds, and is found both among agriculturists and pastoralists (Fig. 146); (3) *torassana*, a grain silo built from stones and mud (Fig. 145). Nowadays such storerooms are not only used by agriculturists but also by pastoralists. However, this type of storeroom is said to have been introduced to Ahaggar with the introduction of irrigation agriculture about a hundred years ago, and was originally unknown to pastoral Tuareg.

[136] Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg all storerooms for cereals are known as *tédengewi*. The storing of vegetable food products in skin bags covered with stones or hidden under rocks is apparently unknown – perhaps because of the numerous small rodents and the rich insect life which includes numerous white ants. Underground storerooms like those of Ahaggar are used by agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg alike. They are frequently excavated so deeply that they can hide a grown man standing in

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

them. They are lined and covered with mats as in Ahaggar, and though they may be used for the storage of wild seeds they are mainly used for grown cereals and are generally found in or close to gardens. Grain silos built of stones and mud – the *tarassana* type of Ahaggar – are said to occur among the *Kel Ewey* but I have never seen such storerooms in their villages, nor have I met the typical African storeroom built of straw and resting upon poles until south of the Massif in Damergu where they are used by shifting cultivators. Large earthenware containers shaped like cooking pots are used to store vegetable products (cereals) in certain villages, particularly at Iferwan. Pastoral Tuareg of Ayr have the underground storerooms for the preservation of surplus grain and other vegetable products. Cereals to be consumed in the camps (notably millet) are kept in large skin-bags resting upon poles that they may not be damaged by white ants. The Ahaggar Tuareg also preserve cereals in their tents in skin-bags.

Irrigation agriculture is a strenuous task, but it is less influenced by climatic conditions than all other occupations practised in the Sahara. The farmers are not exposed to the same disasters of drought periods as are pastoral Tuareg in the north, though it is said that rain is a direct blessing also to irrigated crops. But cultivated plants are exposed to certain dangers, e.g., locusts, and crops do not always thrive as they should. Bad luck in agricultural activities may in the opinion of the farmers be due to some mystical power or other. It may arise from incorrect treatment of cereals and dates so that they lose their *elbaraka*. Menstruating women, as mentioned above, are dangerous to vegetable food, and this is also true of the fire, for which reason one should never throw date kernels into the flames. The farmers also fear that their crops may suffer damage from the attack of the *Kel Asuf* spirits, and particularly from the attack of the malignant force attached to the "evil eye" or the "evil mouth". To protect their crops the farmers frequently use amulets such as broken pots and skulls of domestic animals (notably of donkeys), which are considered an effective means against the "evil eye" and the "evil mouth" (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 133 f., 160).



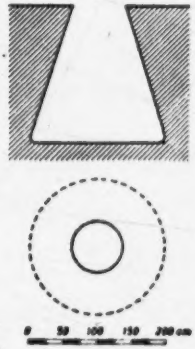


Fig. 145. Grain silos of the *tarassana* type built of stones and mud. Ahaggar, Abalessa.
Fig. 146. Cross section of a subterranean storeroom for cereals, and the like (*éfend*). Dimensions according to Foucauld: 2.00 m–2.50 m deep, 2.00 m in diameter at the bottom, 0.75 m in diameter at the surface (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 459 f.).

[text continues on p. 209]